UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Religion and Life

By EDMUND H. REEMAN

That Affair in Florida

By HARRIET T. COMSTOCK

Men of Influence in China

By GILBERT REID

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. XCI THURSDAY, MAY 10, 1923 Number 11

SONGS OF KABIR.

Between the poles of the conscious and the unconscious,
there the mind has made a swing;
Thereon hang all beings and all worlds, and that swing
never ceases its sway.
Millions of beings are there, the sun and the moon in their
courses are there;
Millions of ages pass, and the swing goes on.
All swing! the sky and the earth and the air and the water;
and the Lord Himself taking form;
And the sight of this has made Kabir a servant.

O servant, where dost thou seek Me!
Lo! I am beside thee.
I am neither in Kaaba nor in Kailoshi;
I am neither in Temple nor in Mosque;
Neither am I in rites and ceremonies,
Nor in Yoga and renunciation.
If thou art a true seeker, thou shalt at once see Me;
Thou shalt meet Me in a movement of Time.
Kabir says, O Sadhu! "God is the breath of all breath."

How could the love between Thee and me sever?
As the leaf of the lotus abides on the water;
So Thou art my Lord, and I am Thy servant.
As the night bird Chaker gazes all night at the moon
So Thou art my Lord, and I am Thy servant.
From the beginning until the ending of Time,
There is love between Thee and me;
And how shall such love be extinguished?
Kabir says: "As the river enters into the ocean,
So my heart touches Thee."

The Beacon. —*Translated by Rabindranath Tagore.*

Word comes as we go to press, of the death of George Willis Cooke, clergyman, author, scholar, friend and supporter of Unity from the first moment of its history. On the cover page of this issue, in the facsimile reproduction of "The Pamphlet Mission," which was Unity's beginning, his name will be found as one of the editors of the department of "Notes and News." Since that first day, Mr. Cooke's name has been on the list of editors, and articles from his pen a regular feature of these columns. Unity mourns today the passing of this devoted man; its tribute to his memory will be spoken later.

Take the map of the United States and blot out all the state lines. Then draw the boundary lines of twenty-five nations. Be sure to have the result look as much like a crazy-quilt as possible. Then throw in for good measure two insignificant republics and one principality. It will not make much difference where they go in. Then imagine within the boundaries of the United States these twenty-five nations governed by political machines armed with all the means of developing fear and hatred—tariffs, armies, navies and the like—and you will have some idea of what is the matter with Europe. In spite of the barriers that have been raised by private and selfish interests, there was such a thing as a European culture. The idealism of Europe has had but one goal for centuries, and that is the realization for the masses of people of fulness and richness of life. During the thirty years that preceded the war, the financial and commercial life of Europe had developed into a complex but real unity. In the vital matters of food and trade, the peoples were dependent upon one another. Books, magazines and newspapers passed over every national boundary. Ideas, scorning the flimsy obstacles, made their way back and forth from Land's End to the Urals. Against all this, then as now, the political leaders fought in vain. Then they emulated Samson and pulled down on their own heads and the heads of all the peoples this vast temple against the building of which they had used all their power. And now we talk of saving Europe! There is none that can save Europe but the peoples of Europe. America, with its vast wealth, might pick out of the wreck a few of these mad Samsons and place them back once more on their seats of power. But that would not be saving Europe! We may feed millions of starving folk, but that is not solving their problem. It is only preserving them to be witnesses of a repetition of the disaster that has befallen them. When the peoples of Europe can put aside leaders who are obsessed with the utterly false and foolish ideas of the value of political nationality, break down the stupid walls of prejudice which these same leaders have so diligently preserved, do away with silly tariffs, turn their arms into machinery for factory and farm, and sink their navies in the sea, then they can live that common life necessary to peace, order and progress. The plain fact is that America cannot save Europe. The peoples of Europe must save themselves.

Unity has said many hard things about Lloyd-George and sometimes has been criticized for saying

them. They were not said because we enjoyed calling attention to the vacillating and utterly unprincipled policy of the then English premier, but because in the interest of truth and justice we felt it our duty to do our part in puncturing the Lloyd-George cult in the United States. This man, who has long since been disowned and thoroughly discredited by all the leaders of the democratic elements in English political life, was looked upon by great masses of people in America as a real statesman and often referred to as the hope of the world. While in England he was being almost daily revealed as a man without principles, ideals or convictions, he was still being hailed in this country as a leader of truth and light. But now all this, we hope at least, is gone. His attitude toward the French occupation of the Ruhr, compared to what it was two years ago, is a more bitter commentary on him than any thing we have ever written, and should be his final condemnation. Today he tears passion to tatters in his denunciation of the taking of the Ruhr by France. Two years ago he agreed to it. The Paris Conference in January, 1921, fixed the Reparations bill at $58,000,000,000. Among sanctions to enforce the payment of that bill, was the occupation of the Ruhr or some other part of Germany. In March he agreed to the occupation of certain towns on the right bank of the Rhine by the French. In May of the same year he foretold the destruction of industrial Germany if the Ruhr was occupied, and yet was willing to have this step taken. Today he is proclaiming that he never approved of such a policy. When confronted with his record by Mr. Bonar Law, he has only one word of explanation, and that is, "bluff." We can conceive nothing more contemptible than this from a man who claims to be a statesman, nothing that more completely reveals an utter bankruptcy of moral ideals. No man need condemn the leadership of Lloyd-George any longer. He has done this perfectly himself. A self-styled Gracchus or Rienzi, he stands now revealed as the Cataline of modern times.

The drive against Russia is "on" again—"on" more fiercely than ever before! Interesting and instructive is it to note how these drives have succeeded one another in the last five years. First came the charge that the Bolsheviki were pro-Germans, with much talk of German gold. This was disproved, only to be succeeded by the monstrous tales of the Red Terror, echoes of which recur every now and then. Before these had become ridiculous, there came the famous and infamous imposture of the "nationalization of women," which had a terrific success everywhere among so-called decent and respectable people. The smashing refutation of this abominable "fake" kept the propagandists quiet for a time; but now has come the biggest anti-Bolshevik drive which has yet been seen—this time, on religious grounds. Thick and fast these days come the stories of persecution and bloodshed. The Bolsheviki are wrecking the churches, plundering their treasures, murdering their priests, outlawing their masses and ceremonies, forbidding their teachings—in general, exterminating religion wherever found, and turning the land over to the darkness of atheism. It's a dreadful picture—but hard to believe by anybody who has been in Russia, as we were last summer, when we went into dozens of churches, listened to dozens of public services of worship, and looked in vain for wreckage and oppression. But the picture is equally hard to believe right here at home; for the same newspapers which thunder against the anti-religious atrocities being perpetrated in Russia, publish innocent news items which reveal a quite normal state of affairs. Thus, on the day following the Russian Easter, we were quietly informed that "the churches were crowded." We were even told in one case that a church, beset by a crowd of rowdies, was surrounded by red soldiers, that the worshippers might be protected. In an article in the current *Nation*, Mr. Holmes has analyzed the situation and told what is going on. Here we have only space to refer to this article, and to state, on the basis of the facts set down therein, that the present charge of religious persecution in Russia is as abominably untrue as all the other lies which have preceded it.

Of all the false charges growing out of the Russian religious situation, none is more damnably wicked than the attack upon the sincerity of the movement known as "the Living Church." This is freely described by men who have never been within a thousand miles of Russia as a dishonest movement deliberately concocted by the Soviets inside the Russian Orthodox Church, to accomplish its undoing. Its priestly members are wantonly charged with being in the pay of the Bolsheviki. Its great and heroic leader, Bishop Antonin, for years an imprisoned martyr to the cause of spiritual freedom, is variously denounced as "feeble-minded" (as in Urch's article in the March *Atlantic Monthly*) and as "a tricky agent of Bolshevism whose real object is the wrecking of the Orthodox Church which he has professed to be trying to revive" (as in the April 12 issue of the *Continent*). Its membership is pictured as rent into jealous and hostile factions, and its leaders, Antonin and Krassnitsky, fighting as Lenin and Trotsky used to fight. As a matter of fact, what we have here is a pure Protestant movement springing right up out of the heart of the most ignorant, superstitious and corrupt orthodoxy in the world. We attended the Moscow Congress of the Living Church in August last. We saw the delegates, listened to the debates, heard Antonin speak twice, met and talked personally with Krassnitsky. If ever there was a movement which was sincere, high-minded, unselfish, this is it. We rejoice to see that F. A. Mackenzie, of the

American Relief Administration, has written in the *British Weekly* (February 8) about the Living Church, which he describes as an important church reform movement, "bitterly criticized by the older church folk," but "worthy of the most careful study."

The charming tale of the lynching-bee at Columbia, Missouri, the seat of the University of Missouri, with students as enwrapped and approving spectators of the glorious deed, brings to mind a suggestion which we have often wanted, but have lacked opportunity until now, to make. We refer to the idea, wholly and proudly our own, that the art of lynching be made a regular part of the curriculum in the colleges and universities of this country. Every reason, at once of common-sense and of idealism, would seem to support the recommendation. Here is lynching a well-recognized and thoroughly established institution of our American life. Patriotic citizens are again and again called upon to join lynching parties, and do their share in stringing up nooses, piling faggots, and shooting roasted corpses. It is inevitable, in lack of proper training, that the process should frequently be carried out in a bungling and halting fashion. Hence the advisability, nay the necessity, of education in the art! Let every freshman in every institution of higher learning be made to take "Lynching I" as a required course. Instruction should include the history of the practice, its unique relation to the democratic ideals of American life, its justification from legal and ethical standpoints, together with a survey of the best approved methods. Higher courses for juniors and seniors should take up such especial points as how to roast the victim slowly, how best to torture women, laboratory tests for securing the maximum of pain and ignominy. Specimen "niggers" for practice tests could undoubtedly be secured in abundance from Georgia jails and Florida peonage camps. That the students would welcome an innovation of this kind is shown impressively by what took place at the University of Missouri, on April 29th last. We might add that we have not copyrighted this idea, but pass it on *gratis* to our seats of learning east and west.

We are always amused by the excited discussions that break out every now and then over Negro migrations from the South. Why should the Negroes leave the South, is the question asked. To which we always answer, Why should the Negroes *not* leave the South? Why should any black man or woman who can scrape together the money for railroad fare, or even walk on two legs, remain in this uncivilized section of our United States? For example! In Miami, Florida, the other day, a local election was held. Just before the election, circulars, adorned with skull and cross-bones, were distributed among the colored population of the town—dropped on doorsteps, put into mail-boxes, etc. The circulars read as follows:

BEWARE!

Negro Citizens, as long as you keep your place, we will protect you,

But

Beware! The Ku-Klux-Klan is Again Alive!
and **Every Negro** who approaches a polling place next Tuesday will be

A Marked Man

This is a white man's country, boys, so save your own life next Tuesday.

KU-KLUX-KLAN,
Miami Chapter.

P. S.—Don't think for a minute that we don't know you. A white man will be at every polling place with his book. **Don't get in that book!**

UNITY has more than once suggested that the radio, now being used so eagerly by the churches, is quite as likely to ruin the churches as to help them. We have raised the query as to whether, in the end, the radio would not out-do the automobile as a church-wrecker. How is the country church, for example, going to stand the competition of the broadcasted city minister? Already comes confirmation of our prognostications. What with us was a mere theory, based on what seemed to be the necessary elements involved in the phenomenon, is now seen to be a fact. Thus from a country church comes the vigorous complaint of Rev. Elmer L. Setterland, Mineral, Illinois, that the radio broadcasting of sermons from large cities is greatly complicating the rural problem. Persons on the way to church, he says, are invited to step into the house of a friend and listen to some notable city preacher. He looks at the situation as follows:

> The big city churches can use radio to good effect and help the weaker churches of both city and country. They can do this in two ways: For one thing, every pastor should refuse to preach over the radio on Sunday. This will kill all opportunity for excusing one's self from church because one can hear radio sermons. Second, the radio can be used with splendid effect during the week in helping to exalt the local church in the community.

All of which seems to us to be according to Hoyle! Unless we miss our guess, which is wholly common-sense speculation and not at all scientific testing of the facts, the use of the radio will do more to empty our churches than any other influence which has come into being in the last one hundred years. That church services will end, and preaching disappear, is of course ridiculous; this is as impossible as the killing of the spoken drama by the movies. But that a final blow will be struck at *church-going for its own sake* seems to us not only possible but probable. Nor do we think this to be such a dreadful prospect!

Jottings

We read in the New York *Times,* April 26, page 8, "Says religion averts war. Dr. W. C. Pearce makes plea for Near East Sunday schools." If we knew Dr. Pearce, we would ask him for specifications: where and when has religion averted war?

It is reported of Senator Hiram Johnson that, when asked at his landing at Cherbourg what he thought of the Ruhr occupation, he replied, "I am an American, and have no advice to offer France." What a sound it would be for sore ears, if our visitors from abroad, the Clemenceaus and Cecils without number, said something of this sort when they reached these shores! But no! we must be instructed.

Here's a sample of America, "the land of the free"! We quote from a letter of a friend: "I went to Kansas City. There my meeting was raided by the police and American Legion men. All the fine audience who had paid admission, chased out! I was stopped in my address, but not arrested. The invaders came from the outside, had not heard a word I said. . . . They arrested four perfectly innocent by-standers, and fined them $200 each."

We have had moments in the past when we felt some doubt as to the spiritual health of our friend, *The Christian Register.* All doubt has now been removed, however, for a long time to come, by the *Register's* controversy with Secretary of War John W. Weeks. Any paper that is on the opposite side of a question from Mr. Weeks is "not far from the Kingdom of God."

After destroying several other fine churches in Warsaw, the government of Poland has begun razing to the ground, stone by stone, the great historic Russian cathedral *because it is Russian.* And not a yip from our newspapers and public men! We don't have to wonder what these same papers and men would be saying if the Soviet government had destroyed or were destroying the historic churches which they have so carefully preserved. How the welkin would ring!

Could anything be more touching than the way "daylight saving" is put into effect each year? Always on Sunday, when churches and not business houses will suffer from the thousands who never remember to change their clocks! For what is religion as compared to business?

The Metropolitan Temple (Methodist) in New York is celebrating its ninetieth anniversary. In its historical statement it narrates that, in November, 1913, it absorbed the Bedford Street Methodist Church (founded, 1805); and in June, 1920, absorbed the Jane Street Methodist Church (founded, 1844). Ten years ago, in other words, there were three Methodist churches in New York where there is now one. Thus does organized religion grow! J. H. H.

Religion and Life

"The whole theory of life—silently felt rather than deliberately thought—has irrevocably changed." The words, so eloquent of our times, are James Martineau's, himself the early prophet of a larger faith. They epitomize perhaps the most crucial fact in the whole present religious situation. The task of religion must be re-defined. The ministry of religion must be re-conceived. Contempt for the conventional creeds of older churches is perhaps less responsible for prevailing dissatisfaction with conventional churches than is a distaste for the motives by which their common activities have been actuated. The whole theory of life *has* changed and the world is no longer in fear of the hereafter. The whole theory of life *has* changed and the need is urgent for a re-affirmation of religion as a great constructive adventure in human living. Religion must be made a thing of this world or it can have no place in the world. So the minister of religion, if he is to justify his place, must be first and foremost a man of this world—a man who senses its needs, understands its problems, and believes in its possibilities. He must in short believe in man no less than he believes in God. The ministry for which the world is languishing today is a ministry that will interpret this world to mankind and that will teach men to believe in themselves. The dominant note of the religion the world most needs is that of a profound faith in the salvability of the world and mankind and in the power of man himself to work the miracle. A religion that does not embody such a faith and that is not dominated by it is but another form of the world's most sinister pessimism, and it must be the work of religion to save the world from the peril of pessimism. It is out of man's own human powers of will and determination, out of man's infinite capacity for moral advance and heroic adventure, out of man's as yet unsounded depths of spiritual capacity that the prophets of today must bring the inspirations of a transcendent new faith. What the world lacks today is obviously not faith in creeds and formulaes, but simple faith in humankind—faith in men themselves and in our human power to achieve out of co-operative human effort the only real alterna-

tive to a world doomed as well as devastated—a commonwealth of humanity built upon the principle of human goodwill and dominated by the spirit of mutual human service.

Everywhere the old sanctions of supernatural religion are being challenged and the old foundations of religious and moral beliefs are being broken up. Everywhere we are faced by an appalling inability on the part of conventionally motivated religious agencies to supply that moral inspiration and that spiritual leadership for which the world is languishing, and by an utter lack of any clear, insistent and compelling utterance on the great issues of life.

Many of our churches do not themselves seem to know quite what they are driving at, or quite why they exist, and Babel itself is rivalled by the confusion of tongues that prevails in our religious affairs. In times of war you will find our churches vigorously applauding the military policies and tactics of governments, aiding the recruiting forces, and generally playing second fiddle to the dominating lead of military influence. In times of peace you will find these selfsame churches loudly proclaiming the iniquity of human warfare and their own unqualified allegiance to a Prince of Peace.

Two tendencies in the present religious situation in particular are a positive challenge to serious consideration and intelligent thinking. The first of these two tendencies I will name the peril of an ignorant and pessimistic paganism. There is a paganism that is both hardy and hopeful, because enlightened, intelligent and purposeful. The paganisms of some of the earlier periods of history at their best were at once strong and courageous. The paganism that threatens to imperil our modern world is, however, of a very different sort. It is the paganism of a generation growing up scornful of the old sanctions of spiritual verity and apparently heedless of any fundamental sense of moral values—a generation the fathers of which by their own apathy have made the old sanctions untenable to their children and who have left the children without guidance or inspiration in the tremendous task of finding new sanctions for a moral and spiritual life. The paganism that threatens us today is neither hopeful nor courageous. On the contrary it is increasingly pessimistic in the tendencies of its exuberant flippancies, and is likely to leave us without any solid foundation for faith in either gods or men. It is, in a word, a paganism that sees the world in darkest naturalism, but that sees no way out.

It is not the thrilling and majestic paganism of a Henley's "Invictus"—

> Out of the night that covers me
> Black as the pit from pole to pole,
> I thank whatever gods may be
> For my unconquerable soul.
>
> It matters not how straight the gate,
> How charged with punishments the scroll,
> I am the master of my fate,
> I am the captain of my soul.

Rather the paganism that threatens us is content with the sophistry of, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die," and that, unconcerned with the problem of whether or not the world can be saved, often itself raises the question whether the world is really worth saving and whether life is any way serious enough to be really worth living.

It is the impending paganism of a generation for whom the old gods are dead, and who neither see the way to, nor the need for, the creation of new gods to take their place—a paganism born out of the cant of a heritage that, while pretending to hold human life sacred, deliberately set itself to the cheapening of every sanctity of life, and that in the presence of falling thrones and crumbling moral edifices chose rather to make capital out of the ruin than to assay the great tasks of rebuilding a fallen moral world.

The really crucial issue in the present religious situation is not the mouldering decay of the old creeds and beliefs of the world and not the impotence of the churches before the onward sweep of scientific knowledge and the corresponding paralysis of old dogmas before it. The really crucial issue is our apparent inability, or unwillingness, to apply the scientific method to the reconstruction of a spiritual faith for the world and to the rehabilitation of those human moral values that the passing of the old dogmatic and supernaturalistic sanctions have left without apparent foundation.

The old decalogs have become a joke, but they have not been replaced by new and rationally commanding decalogs, partly, at least, because our professional moral instructors have been more concerned about saving the old forms of moral injunction than about saving the true moral values of the world. On every hand the denials of the old scepticisms are being outshamed by the blatant faithlessness of an age in revolt against dogma, but untrained to distinguish between faith and its outworn forms. Here surely is a challenge that should put fire into the bones of every lover of mankind.

The second tendency to which I shall call attention may be named the peril of the attempt of incompetent and bankrupt religious dogmatism to restore by coercion the sway of its own discredited dogmas. If there be such a thing as the sympathy of the gods, verily the present age deserves it in the choice that so often confronts it between a decadent and discredited faith and a paganism that imperils its very life.

The "Fundamentalism" of which we have heard so much in America recently is not a new thing. It is an old thing that has been tried and proved futile. Surely nothing better illustrates the utter bankruptcy of a great company of our avowed religious teachers than this attempt to force upon America by the Ku Klux Klan method of intimidation the fashion of creeds and the form of dogmas shattered beyond hope of recovery by the progressive advance of genuine ra-

tional and scientific learning. Rome has abandoned the Inquisition only to have its methods copied, as so many of its methods and dogmas have been feebly copied, by the weaker forces of a Protestantism too incompetent even in the Twentieth Century to develop the powers of leadership to which they aspire.

It is one of the cruellest and most tragic results of the last war that its aftermath has given vitality to forces of ignorant re-action that are as dangerous to the best interests of human well-being in the religious realm as they are in the social and political world.

In the religious realm these forces of reaction are dangerous in two ways, and their graver peril is perhaps the least obvious. The threat of the peril they carry from the standpoint of civil and domestic strife must be apparent to all. Already in certain of our states the issues of dead religious controversies have been injected into the political action of our legislative bodies, nor, given any assurance of success, is there any room to doubt the disposition of some of these reactionary religious forces to create national issues out of their religious shibboleths. While even though we admit the remoteness of such a possibility, the increasing militancy of attitude on the part of these forces of reaction is itself serious enough. For it can hardly be imagined that the enlightened intelligence of America is going to stand by and do nothing while the most ignorant forces of benighted bigotry seek to rob the children of this generation and the next of those hard-won gains of scientific knowledge so laboriously built up and in the face of opposition of precisely the same kind of religious bigotry that is today re-marshalling its decrepit forces.

Suppose the question should arise in the schools of your state or mine as to whether our young people are to be taught to approach the study of history from the standpoint of serious scientific understanding, or from the standpoint of the literal accuracy and verbal infallibility of the Genesis accounts of Creation—a supposition by no means preposterous—then I fancy a good many American parents would feel that they had a good deal to say about it.

The graver danger, however, and one all the more serious because often less immediately apparent, is the danger of our losing all sense of the true values and realities of religion, with a consequently even more deadly drift in the direction of that paganism to which I have called attention. This peril is still further increased by the prevailing hesitancy on the part of great present day ecclesiastical organizations to frankly speak their minds on the urgent religious problems of the times, and by their persistent practice of cutting and trimming and generally adopting any policy of compromise that will avoid open issue as between the liberal and forward looking forces and the reactionary forces in all religious bodies. There are times when it is hard to convince oneself that a good many of our ecclesiastical organizations are not infinitely more concerned about saving the financial resources that are tied up to their denominational names than they are about coming to grips with the real problems of a world struggling in moral chaos.

Faith in ourselves and faith in our world we must needs have if we are even to begin the great work that today confronts the world, but how, unless new fountains of faith be opened to men, are we ever to find it? Urgent above all needs is the need of preparation for the spiritual growth of man and for such an increase of man's stature as a moral and spiritual being as will equip him to meet the increasing exactions of his vastly complicated social order and to bring order out of the confusion in which the affairs of mankind are at present entangled.

The present confusion of the world and the present chaos in our religious affairs with all the accompanying peril is the abundant proof that the old supernaturalistically grounded religions have not solved but have rather intensified the complexity of our human problems. Jehovah of Judah has shown himself as incapable of the direction of human affairs as the Bulls of Bashan, or the Baals of Phoenicia. Priestly penitence and even ecclesiastical political dominion have availed the world nothing over the burnt offerings and bloody sacrifices of an earlier priestcraft. Diana of the Ephesians and Mary the Mother of God are in the same category when it comes to practical and pragmatic values in human affairs.

Religion must be re-defined in terms of human faith. Humanity has burnt its bridges and there is no backward way to peace and joy and fulness of life for the sons of men. Either we go forward, out of darkness into light, or we and our kind go down into uttermost darkness, black as the pit from pole to pole. And the light by which we must find the light is the light within, for there is no light that can reach us from without. Nor do we need it. Human knowledge, human courage, human intelligence, human goodwill developed and applied are sufficient in themselves.

The religions we are leaving behind, like the morals that have been so widely deserted, are all of human make and mould and the powers of grander architecture are with us yet. Old temples, like old machines, have their day and cease to be, but, unless we wilfully destroy it, the power of ever new creative genius goes on. Life, mysterious as it is, has been friendly to every advance of man and the world is no hostile battle-ground. There are no demons that people it, save it be the demons that human ignorance and bigotry and superstition themselves create. The world is plastic to the power of man. The mountains vanish and the rivers divide at his approach. The world that has cradled the infancy of our race today awaits its march towards strength and maturity.

The future is none too rosy, the timorous tell us,

and old wars argue new wars and old confusions new confusions. And indeed they do, *unless* we make for the world a new future built upon new faith and guided by new principles. But all the elements of wonder and worship are with men yet, and the power of grander faiths and loftier ethics. Only they can no longer be made subject to the bogeys that the childhood of the race made the scarecrows of its times.

Before the majesty of the stars and the wonders of life and the unfathomed mysteries of his own being, the intelligent man must ever stand reverent, but erect. Reverent, aye, and humble too. But from no fear of hell, or hope of heaven's reward. Humble—because a partner in the majesty of worlds still in the making. Reverent—because the child and product of the infinite mystery and marvel of it all. Humble and reverent, but yet erect—because himself a maker of gods and the master of his destiny and the world's order.

Can we not catch a glimpse of it all? This world of superb possibilities and illimitable resources today so widely wracked and wasted—this humanity of ours with its almost unimaginable possibilities for gracious, winsome living today bruised and broken alike in body and soul. Lands, like America, with the golden glory of the sun lighting a thousand mountain peaks; with rivers carrying their precious waters through valleys, the fertility of which we are only now learning to tap; oceans pounding their waves on the shores of continents and islands that might so easily become the home of care-free, glad-souled human creatures; nations of diverse origin and genius, now torn and riven by strife and bloodshed and angered to bitter enmity by false pride of place and blood, but that so easily, if but the magic note of faith and courage could be heard, might unite in harmonic blend and chorus the very differences that now divide.

Verily, here is the place for our dreams and hopes of Paradise.

To give Justice a new currency among the words of human speech; to give hope a new place in the human heart; to give faith in mankind a new sanction among the divided councils of men and of nations—here is a task that is worthy of religion and that calls to the heart of every man and woman.

EDMUND H. REEMAN.

A Religious Socialist

Editorial Correspondence

I have long been looking for individuals or groups who combine religious and social ideas and motives. So, when I was invited to a meeting last week of religious socialists, I quickly responded. I found about 150 young men and women, gathered for the semi-monthly meeting. Not having a working knowledge of German, I could not receive the address of the speaker, Karl Mennicke, but I could study the faces of the listeners—who obviously were most intelligent people. Since I was still a seeker, I sought an interview with Mr. Mennicke, in order to get his viewpoint—and I am told that he represents an important movement in Germany. Anything that promises a combination of religion and socialism—or as I put it to myself of Jesus and Marx—will awaken my interest at any hour of the night.

Mr. Mennicke and I had to make thought connections through an interpreter—whose task is never to be envied and requiring more skill than that of the two participants. Mr. Mennicke was a young clergyman at the opening of the war, was born in Eberfeld, and went through the public schools. He then entered a business life, out of which he was drawn by a religious motive. 1914 found him at Goderburg as associate minister in a Lutheran Church, in which capacity he occasionally preached. Being unable to encourage his congregation to support war and nationalism, and declaring himself thus from the pulpit, he discovered that a storm against him had been raised in the community, which led to his leaving the Church. It was urged by some that he should be tried for "high treason," because he said he was unable to see how Christians could be cheered by war and its terrible aspects. He was not a Conscientious Objector—there were few such in Germany, and because their number was negligible they were not treated severely.

While in the war (he joined the ambulance corps) he discovered he could not longer be a clergyman. There were two reasons: first, his whole mind had been filled with repulsion for war, an institution he saw the church was supporting; next, he discovered that the Church did not mean anything to the masses. He found that the Lutheran Church was further from the people, than even the Catholic Church. I asked him if the churches had been changed by the war. He replied that the Protestant Church (Lutheran) had become more nationalist and reactionary, while the Catholic Church had always been international and closer to the people. He thought that the Catholic Church had grown a little more liberal.

He said that he himself went out of the church voluntarily, that when he finally left the Church he was pastor in the Ruhr Valley, among workers, and had been urged to remain: but he had felt—as many others in Germany feel—that in order to get close to the people he must leave the Church: since, it was taken for granted by the proletariat that the Church was not with them in their struggle for social betterment.

I asked him to explain the Socialist Religion movement. He said that the movement had not gone far enough to crystallize into a program. Like himself, many had found during the war that spiritual life is largely determined by economic conditions. For the working of this basic idea, there are difficulties to overcome. One is the condition of the workers who have partly lost the sense of religion. This condition is due to the fact that the Protestant Church, for centuries, has ignored the condition of the multitude. Further, the church has been closely affiliated with the State, and consequently workers find no hope in the church, which has become to them a negligible factor. He has a profound belief that what the workers want cannot

be produced by a program, but by creating forces that will produce what they want. The Religious Socialists, however, are not all agreed about the church, some still having faith that it will be hospitable to socialist religion.

Mr. Mennicke thought that there were present evidences in the spiritual world that the day of complacency, of self-satisfaction had ceased and given way to a seeking, a hunger, for more real foundations. The forces he had in mind were of two kinds: first, a new consciousness of the need of religious foundations, in the place of complacency and self-satisfaction: second, a consciousness in the socialist groups that there is something lacking in socialism, there not being the same sureness, as once, of economic dogma, as advanced by socialists—the masses coming to realize that the forces in which they had trusted are not substantial. The religious socialists are explaining this restlessness in the masses as a feeling of the need of religion.

When asked if he ever referred to Gandhi as one possessing the higher life to be sought, I was surprised to hear him say, No, because the people had scarcely heard of Gandhi, and even more surprised was I, that the people whom he addressed did not know Tolstoy.

Mr. Mennicke lives in North Berlin among the workers. He said that living conditions were getting daily worse, because the gulf between income and expense was getting wider and deeper, especially in families with several children. There were many homes in which there were few if any bed clothes. He noticed that the children in the street were daily getting paler and more tired. Many of his neighbors said that they were scarcely able to carry their "bones up the stairs." Germany is getting worse economically and politically, and this will continue for a few years; nevertheless, he, and others, believe they should continue, with hope, free from worriment.

When I asked him what was his "best word to America," he said he had several words, and seemed to struggle to know just how to express them. "America," he said, "should try to understand the situation of Germany. It is difficult, since the life of Germany, as of Europe, is very complex and conditions complicated, politically, sociologically." There were century-old antagonisms and all institutions were part of an old organism. He hoped that America would try to understand and apply her understanding. Again, America had never been burdened as had Europe, a fact that has made it possible for America to be rich and successful. This has led America to put success up as a test for good and bad. Thinking Germans fear that this may make it impossible for America to understand Germany and Europe. This, Mr. Mennicke thought was shown in the way churches in America expressed their religious life. Again, America is envied by Germany in her ability to put things through. There is an absence of heaviness in Americans which is found in Germans. Germany feels that in contrast with America something like a doom to her whole life seems impending. Among Germans there is a strong tendency to ponder, to take things rather tragically. "That seems to be our fate: to take things seriously—a temper that seems to point to an impending doom."

When asked if the religious socialists of Germany, like some of the ancient prophets were faced with the people asking, What must we do?, as when John the Baptist told such inquirers that anyone who had two coats should give to his neighbor who had none, he replied, "Fortunately, we are not asked that question; we say that the first thing to do is to give ourselves wholly to the building up of society, to participate in the immediate environment, by giving the best that is in us, or that comes to us from the outside. It is not self-culture that is emphasized, rather the finding our life in the daily job." Mr. Mennicke went on to say that it is difficult for the workers even to consider such a thought, for they had once believed in the appearance of a new world, and had been disillusioned. It was hard for them to be patient.

Karl Mennicke represents a group of young Germans who ought to be known in America—a movement expressing dissatisfaction with materialistic socialism and a conviction that the spiritual causes of human life should be sought and as far as possible discovered and created, since only out of the fundamental causes within can rise the society which man's heart demands. He is editor of *Blatter für Religiösen Socialismus* (*Religious Socialism Leaves*), and his address is Hochschule für Politik, Schinkelplatz 6, Berlin. I am warranted in saying that any periodical or magazine of liberal thought, in religion or sociology or economics or labor would be gladly received regularly by him, and in return he would gladly put such publications on the exchange list. No other introduction than this is necessary, and I advise liberal editors to send in their papers and make this international contact. I go further to say, that editors in America or the British Empire wishing to have articles written about religion, industry or politics in Germany, would find Mr. Mennicke a painstaking writer and an intelligent interpreter of the real forces at work in Germany.

Berlin, Germany. SYDNEY STRONG.

A NAVAJO INDIAN'S PRAYER TO THE MOUNTAIN SPIRIT.

Reared within the Mountain,
Young man, Chieftain,
Hear a young man's prayer!
Hear a prayer for cleanness.

Keeper of the strong rain,
Drumming on the mountain;
Lord of the small rain,
That restores the earth to newness;
Keeper of the clean rain,
Hear a prayer for wholeness.

Young man, Chieftain,
Hear a prayer for fleetness,
Keeper of the deer's way,
Reared among the eagles,
Clear my feet of slothness.
Keeper of the paths of men,
Hear a prayer for straightness.
Hear a prayer for courage,
Lord of the thin peaks,
Reared among the thunders;
Keeper of the head-lands,
Holding up the harvest,
Keeper of the strong rocks,
Hear a prayer for staunchness.

Young man, Chieftain,
Spirit of the Mountain.

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

The Periscope

The Levinson-Knox war outlawry proposal which is set forth in twelve articles, and upon which the Borah resolution is based, contains two major points. The first provides for the calling of an international conference of the leading jurists of the world, the purpose of which conference is to be the codification of international law. Such a task is a huge one and might, according to the late Senator Knox, require five years, but the expense, says Mr. Levinson, whose law specialty is the reorganization of industrials and railroads, even if each member of the conference was given a life pension, would not exceed thirty million dollars, or one-hundredth of one per cent of the cost of the World War. Such a body of statute law would be something new under the sun, for at present international law consists of but a few general agreements and precedents. With such a body of law which unqualifyingly abolished war (conserving only the right of defense against "actual or imminent attack"), formulated, the next point in the Levinson-Knox document is the establishment of an international court patterned after the Supreme Court of the United States. The special point of emphasis in this connection is that the framers of this plan for an international court recognized the argument advanced by James Madison when the proposal for giving the Supreme Court jurisdiction over state controversies was advanced; namely, that to give the Court power to enforce its decisions would result in anarchy and rebellion. As great an authority as Senator Knox was confident that the sense of moral obligation expressed in international opinion would be sufficient force to compel each nation to abide by the decisions handed down by such a world court. Mr. Levinson in his analysis of the plan, says:

> The international court must of course be given adequate power to enforce its judgments against all war criminals. The precise manner in which this may best be accomplished would be one of the important functions of the Codification conference. But as to the civil decrees of the court a reading of the history of our constitutional debates will probably be persuasive if not convincing that force is not indispensable.

With Elihu Root and former Supreme Court Judge John H. Clarke supporting the Harding world court proposal, it is well to note again just wherein the difference lies between the now existing court which Harding wishes the United States to enter, and the one proposed by Levinson and Borah. The League of Nations' court is more of a tribunal of arbitration than it is a court, in that it has no body of law to interpret or enforce. Borah's resolution gives the court such a body of law. The League of Nations' court is powerless unless all disputing parties appear before it for no nation is under obligation to present its case. The Levinson-Borah court would have power to act either on its own initiative or on the petition of any one national party to a dispute. Again the League of Nations' court, even though it hear a case, cannot force its decisions, as the disputing nations do not have to accept its verdict. In the Levinson-Borah court the decisions handed down would carry with them the authority which our Supreme Court exercises —its judgments would be final. The difference between the Harding-Hughes court and the Levinson-Borah court is, therefore, largely that between an arbitration board and the Supreme Court of the United States. The first finds its prototype in the Hague Conferences, the latter in an established American judicial institution.

It is possible that the 110,000,000 people of the United States will have an opportunity to make a selection between these two types of international courts, for William Hard's observation that "the opponents of the Harding court will be driven to picking up any stick with which to try to beat it," and that "war outlawry looks today like the chief candidate for being that stick," is not without significance.

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

That Affair in Florida

There are times and incidents that arouse just people to a realization of the absurdity, viewed from the standards of other countries, of our vaunted Americanism.

We proclaim American ideals of justice, equality and mercy, as national: we as a people have grown accustomed to what Americans know as "state rights," but we overlook the fact that millions of people, not densely ignorant ones either, regard with dumb amazement, if not satanic glee, the fact that American ideals and conscience are governed more by geographical boundaries than by a high moral sense.

For instance, in America we have a section where human beings are burned alive and tortured in other ways.

We have sections where little children are worked in mines and factories, legally and indifferently. We have other bright, free spots where a system of renting out helpless human beings—at so much a head—a real bargain by the way—for contract labor under brutal men, is recognized by law abiding and Christian communities!

Over the state line conscience changes its color.

But these are the United States of America! And our neighbors across the sea must regard them as such and rightfully estimate the sincerity of an ideal that can rise or fall by a geographical boundary.

The brutal outrage just perpetrated in Florida—that state where the rich and powerful gambol and while away the winter months—has somehow aroused the adaptable consciences of people to the extent of obliterating, for the time being—the supreme majesty of State Rights!

A young boy, doing what any boy of any parentage might do, fell into the clutches of the demons who regulate the administration of the peonage law of Florida.

The Dakota boy, Tabert, with no crime against him graver than "stealing a ride" on the railroad, swayed undoubtedly by a foolish spirit of adventure, was seized in Florida by the law!

He was rented out legally, and sent to an unwholesome and brutally managed labor camp.

He was ill—and, since he could not work, he was beaten to death *legally* and thrown into a hole in the ground.

All this went on to Tabert and others, while the giddy whirl at Palm Beach was in full blast and the

whirlers, with consciences regulated by state lines, knew nothing about it!

But the parents of young Tabert, supported by the generosity and decency of their poor neighbors, set something going! There is another brand of conscience in Dakota. Ignoring the divine state rights they appealed to a common decency and have, to a certain extent, at least, torn the mask from the brutal face of so-called Florida justice and are demanding that the truth be exposed and that it test the national, not the state, ideals.

It would be difficult to find anywhere on earth, more brutality than is practiced in some of the American states. It may be confined to certain localities; legalized by men whose standards are low and inhuman, but it must be regarded from a distance as—American!

We can hardly hope that our neighbors, who have been held up to the scorn of the world by us for atrocities no greater than ours, are going to weigh and condone these horrors in the name of State Rights over which *America* has no control.

Florida is not the only state where convict labor is utilized for personal gain and political graft. It happens to be the one singled out by outraged decency, for observation.

Tabert is not the only murdered boy, but even after this horrible disclosure of the result of the system under which he suffered, the legislators of Florida are today demanding that the legal right to flog convicts be retained.

If the right of states to rule themselves has resulted in no common standard of decency by which America can be judged—then State Rights should be regulated and the Constitution of the United States be safeguarded.

If imagination means ability to put one's self in another's place, then let us, free and equal Americans, stand in some foreign country—anyone that bears the most brutal interpretation — and consider the lynchings, the horrors of child labor, the terrors of the peonage system—in the United States. Let us, still in the other's place, weigh these outrages against American ideals and—watch the reaction!

State lines are never going to save us from what we deserve; what we must reap.

If any American, in any state, can quiet his conscience by constitutional boundaries, his conscience does not amount to much and will never support his ideals—unless it finds it pays!

Neither Americans nor others can hope to escape the judgment of *deeds* and there is much house cleaning to be done in certain sections of these United States.

May 1, 1923. HARRIET T. COMSTOCK.

Men of Influence in China

It may be of interest to readers of UNITY to hear about a form of missionary enterprise, different from usual methods, started some twenty-eight years ago. An independent mission was projected, when I withdrew from the ranks of the Presbyterian Board, and which I called the Mission Among the Higher Classes in China. The particular theory which I had in mind was that special effort should be directed to those of greatest influence in order that their influence might be utilized for bringing about reforms in the Government and for bringing benefits to the great mass of people. The theory is based on an old traditional principle in China which may be translated, "as those at the top, so those at the bottom." The theory was adapted to the conditions as they then existed under monarchial rule, but are not so adaptable in the system of a democratic government. Still the theory fits into the custom, if not into the political system, of China.

When the work was undertaken, the influential men were generally regarded as of two classes, very closely linked together. The one class was of the Chinese Mandarins, and the other class was of the Chinese Literati. At the present time there are no Chinese Mandarins, which implies gradation in official rank, similar to the nobility, but there are Chinese officials. There are also very few left who might be called the Chinese Literati, but there are Chinese educationists and a growing number of Chinese students who possess a growing influence in the affairs of the nation. There is as there has always been another class of influential men who are leaders in moral and religious movements, men who are seeking after the truth and are working the works of righteousness. This last class of influential men is more approachable than in former years.

When I first undertook this work in Peking, Chinese custom and thought were far more conservative than liberal. The highest officials in the Government had no contact whatever with foreigners, except as they were connected with the Foreign Office, and even then the only contact was either at the foreign legations or at the Chinese Foreign Office. The great diplomats from abroad had no social intercourse with Chinese in their private homes. There was a barrier between the East and the West.

It was under these circumstances that I sought to gain entrance to the homes of the Chinese Mandarins and Literati, and what is more I began with those at the top who were princes and dukes, Ministers of the Cabinet and Ministers of the Foreign Office. I found my opportunity in the state of mind which was produced by the war between China and Japan, in which Japan was being victorious and China defeated. I was in thorough sympathy with the Chinese claims of right in the war that was waged between the two neighbors of the Orient. I was also anxious to point out remedies and reform for the Government. As a result I drew up many documents with reference to the reforms that were needed. My circle of acquaintance among these influential men widened during the three years in which I was in Peking, until I had on my calling list as many as three hundred of this class. Not only I called upon them and was admitted to their homes, but they called upon me. The influence that was then exerted in behalf of the reform of the nation and the welfare of the people has not been in vain; it continues to this day.

Having secured the confidence of these influential men, I then drew up a plan for an Institute of learning which would visualize my ideas. This plan was formally approved by the Chinese Government and the new name that was given to the experiment was that of the International Institute of China. This is the name by which the work is better known today than the original name, Mission among the Higher Classes.

All through these years, under varying circumstances, I have held to my theory, and in due course of time one after another of the missionary societies have adopted the theory as a natural course of things. The Y. M. C. A. has latterly made this form of work one of its leading and most attractive features. When I began people pooh-poohed the work, but now they see nothing unusual either in advocating it or in carrying it out. Some have thought that in consequence there was no more reason for the existence of the International Institute, if the Institute was to lay stress on this particular form of work. I have not yet been convinced, for I still find great need for putting forth special effort to influence those who may be at the top in political, social, economic, mercantile, educational or in the religious spheres of Chinese activity. There is special need to bring moral and spiritual and idealistic influences to bear upon Chinese life of today. The Republic is far from being perfect, and Chinese officials of today are no better than they were in the old days of the Manchu rule.

One of the last efforts for exerting this kind of influence has been that of forming and carrying out the plan of an International Journal, which aims to be constructive rather than destructive, mutually conciliatory rather than mutually antagonistic.

The ways in which the higher classes can be reached are many, but in brief they must be along the literary line by the preparation of books and magazines, along the social line through personal contact with individuals, by the educational method, through classroom instruction, through lectures and through what may be called university extension, and also by the political methods in which questions of political well-being are discussed. Above all, there is the method of direct appeal to the conscience of the nation, and to that which is best in every man. This is the kind of work we have been doing, and which we still purpose to do.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, and Professor Frederick Starr are among those who serve on the American Advisory Council. Those who desire to assist may communicate with the Treasurer, Mr. G. T. Pearsons, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

GILBERT REID.

Peking, China.

A Song for Peace

[We print the following unusual song because we prize it as a definite attempt to do a thing which is greatly needed. We fear that some of our readers may be offended, but we think the author of the verses is right when she says, in a private letter: "The idea which is at present consuming me is that of . . . making peace popular by popular means. Have not the children of darkness been wiser than the children of light? If I were not an absolutely unshakable pacifist, 'Johnny, get your gun, get your gun, get your gun,' would have had *me* 'on the run, on the run, on the run' in the late war. The song was really a work of genius in its perfect adaptation to its purpose, and it stands for the emotional mass-appeal for war which makes peace work so hard. Would it not help if the peace leaders should seriously study and make use of the forms the people like? Movies, the radio, pageants, popular songs! It would be a great thing if some good vaudeville players could be induced to use this theme. Didn't Don Quixote set the world a-laughing and thus abolish chivalry? I am thinking not of the work of genius but of the attitude . . . the humorous point of view, and the use of current slang. I even stayed home from church this morning to try a hand at it myself. Behold the result! It is clumsy enough, and far from the concise, snappy sort of thing I have in mind. As Chesterton says, 'so easy to be heavy, so hard to be light.'" All of which is sound gospel. It reminds us of Wesley's famous inquiry as to why the devil should have all the good tunes. We print these verses in the spirit in which they were written. Where is the George M. Cohan to set them to music?—J. H. H.]

PEACE.

In war they call you "Hero," boys, and fill you full of pep,
They doll you up in uniforms and proudly forth you step,
But if you should return alive more trouble then begins,
Your place is gone and like as not you'll have to peddle pins.

Chorus:

Peace! Peace! War must cease!
From slavery to war the world demands release.
Peace! Peace! World-Wide Peace!
We now demand in ev'ry land that war shall cease!

We're getting now a hunch that war is weakness of the brain,
A sign that our mentality can bear but little strain.
Why batter at each other with a cannon or a ram?
It's nothing but the national equivalent of "Damn!"

The man who, at his daily job or even in his sport,
Will "Slug" and get into a pet is called a feeble sort,
The chappie who's a hero then will coolly make a stand
With any grayish matter he may have at his command.

But when the nations play for coal or colonies or oil,
Behind the scenes the "Interests" of each begin to boil.
The Press is heated next and when the People get aflame,
We breathe defiance in a word 'twere better not to name!

The buzz about our honor and the flag is then immense,
But what is re'lly needed is an ounce of common sense,
For when we've squandered billions and the boys return no more,
The matter that we fought about is where it was before.

You get me? war is stupid, boys, a sign of mental sloth,
To keep the peace we must have mind, and heart, a lot of both.
Most any dub can pick a fight and stab and shoot and slug,
But brighter men get busy "from the shoulders up" and plug.

We once were made to think we fought "To make an end of war,"
Yet ev'rywhere we hear "Prepare" . . . prepare for further gore!
"Preparedness" still gobbles up nine-tenths of ev'ry tax:
They seem to think, by jingo, that our minds are made of wax!

A statesman, to deserve the name, should do preventive work
And disinfect each Article where germs of war may lurk.
There's nothing much but massacre about a modern war,
At worst it is insanity, at best a beastly bore.

The common foes of humankind are hard enough to down,
Why turn and rend each other? 'Tis the antic of a clown!
So call a halt on submarines, highpowered guns and gas!
Go beat 'em to it with the cry, "It shall not come to pass!"

(Various choruses as encores.)

Hep! Hep! Get in step!
To win the world for peace you must produce more pep!
Hep! Hep! Get in step!
It isn't war it's peace that put the P's in Pep!

Peace! Peace! We're not Geese,
To let 'em put it over that we can't keep peace!
Peace! Peace! Elbow-grease
Must be applied on ev'ry side to make war cease!

Peace! Peace! We Want Peace!
The People say the only way is World-Wide Peace!
Peace! Peace! War will cease
When Tom and Dick and Harry swear they *will* have Peace!

No—War—No—More—War!
The world has never heard so great a cry Be-Fore!
No—More—No—More—Gore!
We common people now refuse to stand for War!

ELIZABETH JOHNSON.

CORRESPONDENCE

What Next?

[A Letter from Germany.]

This morning I went out with a Schulwester. These school-teachers are nurses, well-trained in social service. They co-operate in organized research and school-work. This particular woman had spent five years in social service in New York slums before the war. As we blundered up a dark stairway she remarked to me:

"These things we saw much in New York, but before the war it was not like this in Germany."

"What!" I asked. "Do you think the New York slums were as bad as these?"

"When I was in America in 1905," she said, "Berlin did not have slums and dirty tenaments."

"How was that?" I queried.

"Our organized charities were rich," she said. "They provided food and clothing to *all* our needy people. Their homes were clean. The mothers scrubbed their children and put their bed-clothes in the sun. Such a dwelling as this we are in could not have existed before the war. No one was allowed to live in cellars or such dark places in inner courtyards."

"Has this change come against the law?" I asked.

"Ach so!" she replied.

"And has it been gradual?" I suggested.

"That is the bitter part of it," she answered. "It has come slowly, like a great plague, and we have hardly noticed it."

"You see it now," I said.

"*All* the time," she replied. "It is working the heart out of our men and women; slowly starving out the home-life and freezing cold the little children; eating away the cheer and the nice things of life."

"It's like a slowly increasing flood, of relentless pressure," I suggested, trying to help her in English. But her words were better than mine as she continued:

"At first our women fought with mind and body behind the men in the war. Then they suffered widowhood, but they took up the burden of earning bread for their little ones as though it were their accustomed lot. The shock of defeat was utterly surprising and crushing."

"Did you never doubt the military power of the Fatherland?" I asked.

"No. Never!" she replied. "But oh this gradual sinking of things! It is sickening to us. Yesterday a mother of three children said to me, 'I am only thirty, but I am giving out. I am not strong like I used to be. Two years ago the children were healthy. Now the little girl is so thin! And Hans that used to be so fat and rosy, look at him.'"

We now were entering another dark passage-way. The "Sister" took my hand saying, "Be careful. Do not fall." The way was dark and wet, but we found the door and knocked. An old lady opened it, but we could not see her until we had passed through into another room with a ray of light in it. Here she lived with five children. There was a stove and the room was warm, but the walls were slimy wet. The window up through the ground was shadowed by a high wall outside. The mother had gone ill, but the old lady was happy, for the father had at last succeeded in finding a job. We rejoiced with her for two reasons, 1st. There was a father living. 2nd. He had work. We stumbled back into the sunlight.

We went into a school-room of thirty children, eight to fifteen years of age.

"How many children here have no mother?" Twelve hands went up.

"How many have no father?" Twenty-four hands.

"How many with neither?" Seven. But the "Sister" told me that most of the children without a parent are in orphanages or children's homes. Next, the children were examined systematically. Four of them passed as "fit," or normal. The others having open sores or other evidence of T. B. (tuberculosis) were given "passes" to visit the hospital clinic. Others with crooked spines were questioned closely. Had the father work? Had the mother work? If a parent had work but the child was anaemic, a food-ticket was given at a stated price. If there was no work, the child was given a free ticket. But unless the child was actually starving, the ticket given would be good only for every other day.

The research work is well organized and the system seemed good, but the children are loosing, not gaining. There are more hungry ones every day. More with parents out of work. More needing "free" bread tickets. How can the city meet the need? There is not money enough to keep the organization going. They are obliged to give smaller and smaller potions as the number of food-tickets increases. They cannot make ends meet.

"Well, sister," I said, "are you so discouraged that you feel like giving up in despair?"

"Not for one minute," she replied, "we can hold on a little longer. All I can do is just my little portion, but I believe in Germany's organization and ability.

"Can't you see," she said, "how money would be well invested if given to such organizations? Can you not see how quickly it would go to where it is most needed?"

"Yes," I said. "America is always asked to help. She *has* given to Germany. She has given to Vienna and to Russia and to Smyrna and the Near East."

"I know," she said, "and I know, too, how hard it is to get over war-hatred. Your own organizations must be supported. We never had enough money in New York to meet the need in that city. This is, I suppose, Germany's just punishment. The least I can do is to give my life to help."

ESTHER M. WHITSON.

Berlin, Germany.

The League of Nations

Editor of UNITY:

In a letter which appeared in UNITY, May 12, 1921, I advocated our country's entrance into the League of Nations on the ground that those parts of the Covenant to which I objected were bound to be a dead letter from the outset. I referred to the "sanctions," the provisions for the coercion of nations in certain contingencies by a boycott and by military means. Because of these provisions I had earlier opposed the League.

Events have gone far to justify the opinion I expressed now almost two years ago. It has come to pass that some of the foremost advocates of the League now praise it as an agency that relies solely on moral force! Thus Professor Manley O. Hudson, referring in a recent address to four major international disputes in which he held that war might have resulted save for the intervention of the League, said, "In all these cases the power of the League has been the power of articulate opinion. The force used has been the moral force of an organized world. In no case has there been a serious suggestion that military force be used." Lord Robert Cecil, likewise, in his several addresses in this country, has come very near abjuring force in international relations.

But the provisions in the Covenant of the League for the coercion of faith-breaking nations were heralded as its supreme and peculiar merit. It was a league to *enforce* peace. It had "teeth." Of course these provisions really disfigured and stultified the Covenant, and made the League not a league of peace but rather a league to make war in order to secure a certain delay before war be made! The remedy proposed was identical with the disease it was to cure,—as illogical and absurd as the humorist's advice to "keep out of debt even if you have to borrow money to do it."

The requirement of unanimity in the Council before the sanctions could be executed upon a recalcitrant nation of the League was itself quite positive assurance that they never would be executed. So impracticable, self-contradictory, absurd a document as the Covenant of the League of Nations is, in its coercive features, it would be hard to match. Ridicule of those features is perhaps more fitting than serious argument against them.

The fact is that, as the makers of our federal Constitution clearly saw, the use of force when applied to people collectively, that is, to states or nations, is unsound in principle. It is amazing that President Lowell and the other wise men who framed the proposals of the League to Enforce Peace, which were in essence incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations, utterly disregarded the insight of Madison and Hamilton that not states, but only individuals, are properly subject to coercion. Do they now see their error? The time has come for them to speak.

For Senator Pepper has urged that the Covenant be rewritten so as to eliminate coercive features, "excrescences which are sources of danger." This excision, he thinks, "would not be a difficult piece of surgery." It is hard to see why this change will not so transform the League as to make it that "association of nations co-operating to attain and preserve peace through justice rather than force" which Mr. Harding proclaimed as the aim of the Republican party in his speech accepting the nomination for the presidency. There appears no reason why the Senate should not be overwhelmingly in favor of our country's entering the League if the Covenant be changed as Senator Pepper desires. Will former Justice Clarke, President Lowell, Mr. Wickersham, Mr.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

MICROSCOPE PROVES INNOCENCE OF FRAME-UP VICTIM.

"I say Heaven speed the day when proof in any important case is dependent upon the magnifying glass and the scientist and is less dependent on the untrained witness without the microscope. These things can't go wrong in the hands of a skilled user of a microscope or a magnifying glass." With these words District Attorney Katzmann introduced in his argument a long chain of testimony to prove that the fatal bullet in the Sacco-Vanzetti case was fired by Sacco from the Colt automatic pistol which he carried when arrested.

That day has come for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. At the instigation of another expert who had some slight connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case, Albert H. Hamilton, whose reputation and authority as a micro-chemical expert in criminal testimony is nation wide, has become interested in the case and has made photographic and microscopic examination of the fatal bullet and ten bullets fired from the Sacco gun for purposes of comparison.

Superimposed photomicrographs of the bullets show that the ten bullets fired from the Sacco gun all show identical markings, markings as plain, according to Mr. Hamilton, "as finger prints." The markings of the fatal bullet, however, show a wide divergence from the other ten. Mr. Hamilton says this divergence is positive scientific proof that the murder bullet was not fired by Sacco.

Mr. Hamilton also subjected these bullets to measurement under a high power Bauch and Lomb microscope, capable of measuring to 1-100,000 of an inch. The bullets so measured offer the same positive identity between the measurements on bullets fired from the Sacco gun, and an equal divergence from the fatal bullet.

These measurements and these photomicrographs, whereby a microscopic study of the bullets is greatly enlarged in a photographic reproduction, according to Mr. Hamilton, are perfect scientific proof that Sacco did not commit the murder of which he has been found guilty. But when the murderer's gun is found, Mr. Hamilton says the photos will be the most definite identification possible of the gun.

"This is not a matter of opinion," says Mr. Hamilton. "It is pure scientific fact. The marks on the bullet which killed Parmenter prove definitely that it was not fired by Sacco's gun. A gun barrel leaves marks on a bullet as clear and unmistakable as those left by a man's fingers. The marks on these bullets are as different as the finger prints left by your fingers and mine. Manifestly they are not from the same gun."

Mr. Hamilton has made affidavits supporting this new evidence from the microscope, the camera and the micrometer, and these affidavits together with a motion for new trial based on them were filed in court by the defense, Monday, April 30th.

Four other motions for a new trial are now before the court. One of them is based on the presence in the jury room of evidence not submitted in court. The second is based on the repudiation of his testimony by one of the prosecution's star identification witnesses, Louis Pelser. Pelser, before the case opened, told the defense he could not identify anyone, that he had hidden under a bench during the shooting. At the trial he told another story—he had opened a window bravely and watched carefully, and identified Sacco positively as the bandit who killed the Slater-Morrill paymaster. Since then he has changed his testimony again, repudiating his identification and swearing that he was under duress on the witness stand.

The third motion grows out of the testimony of Carlos E. Goodridge, alias Erastus C. Whitney, alias Willis, and several other aliases. Goodridge's reputation for truth and veracity was eternally blasted when a former wife came to the defense and made affidavits, supported by corroborative evidence, that he had twice been convicted on larceny charges in New York and was wanted on a similar charge at the time he testified against Sacco. He is further accused of various criminal acts which render him unusable as a witness. His former wife now states that she is receiving threatening letters from Goodridge, alias Whitnew, and is planning to institute proceedings against him.

Mrs. Lola Andrews, whose record in the case closely parallels that of Pelser, has recently sworn out affidavits that her testimony in the case was false, that she committed perjury against Sacco and Vanzetti. Her affidavit is the basis for the fourth motion for a new trial.

Arguments on these motions were to be made April 30th, but the Assistant District Attorney reported to court that the District Attorney was in bed with pneumonia, and requested that all proceedings be postponed till he could be present. As the District Attorney's office refused to go on with the case until his return, and the defense did not push the matter, the court granted the postponement.

SACCO-VANZETTI DEFENSE COMMITTEE.
P. O. Box 37, Hanover Street Station, Boston.

Hughes, Mr. Taft, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Holt, support Senator Pepper's proposal? It seems safe to say that at any rate they will not actively oppose it. Neither will Mr. Root, nor, I believe, Senator Borah.

I enthusiastically welcomed Senator Borah's resolution for the outlawry of war. But perhaps the explicit condemnation of war "as a public crime under the law of nations" is neither necessary nor wise. Our Constitution simply ignores the possibility of war between the States. It provides for the settlement of their controversies by a Supreme Court, and takes it for granted that so sensible a method will be adopted. To mention war even to forbid it would be to suggest it as an alternative, which is bad psychology. The Covenant of the League, when rewritten as Senator Pepper proposes, might well assume as much reasonableness on the part of the member nations as our Constitution imputes to our States, and therefore not mention war at all.

War is such consummate idiocy that it ought not to be so much as named among civilized peoples.

HENRY W. PINKHAM.

Brookline, Mass., April 20, 1923.

The Secretary of Peace

Los Gatos, California, 4-15-23.

Editor of UNITY:

Did an old reader of UNITY read some time ago that UNITY will consider nominations for the new cabinet office, the Secretary of Peace, or did he dream it?

I nominate Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago.

Last week the Secretary of War, Mr. Weeks, warned the public that they ought "to inform themselves of the facts and to examine into the character and patriotism of those who are promoting the pacifist campaign before taking a step that may readily align them with the enemies of the Republic."

Will the "newly appointed Secretary of Peace" kindly issue a similar warning calling attention to those truly dangerous people, war makers, munition manufacturers, imperialists and war profiteers.

I have known a number of pacifists in the flesh and I have not known that they were enemies of the Republic. Those I have known in spirit, Jesus, Tolstoy and Gandhi, were enemies of the Republic of greed, hatred and war, but not of the Republic of Humanity, which is, or ought to be, the spirit of our Republic.

For every suspicious character Secretary Weeks will name in the pacifist camp I can name ten in the war makers' camp who are enemies of Humanity. Few of them are as disinterested as the former group.

With the "King Business" goes the war business. A Secretary of Peace may become too popular or this office may only keep the balance of power but how we would rub our eyes when warnings go forth signed by the Secretary of Peace, "Beware of enemies of the Republic."

ARTHUR B. HEEB.

The Green International

Editor of UNITY:

You may possibly be interested in a few details later than my UNITY article.

For the year of famine 1923, the wheat acreage of the United States is about 4,000,000 acres *less* than for the year 1922, when there was not food enough in the world; the farm population of the United States decreased 1,200,000 in 1922; the taxes of American farmers are now more than their total net income; about ten per cent of the farmers in my state of Michigan are not paying taxes this year; farm hands in New York number sixty per cent less than in 1916. . . .

C. F. ANSLEY.

APPEALS FOR WORLD PEACE.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Moderator of the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, the President of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches and Dr. Jowett recently signed an appeal to Christian congregations in all parts of the world. "We are moved to recommend that in all our churches our people should unite in a solemn act of prayer and of resolve."

They suggest that after prayer the individual worshippers in each church should solemnly and devotedly make an act of dedication or resolve, bracing themselves by the help of God against the things which make for war. The method of such act, whether it be spoken or in silence will change in different churches according to different traditions; but the *thought* which is behind it will be the same. Let every Christian man or woman who can sincerely do so, make the resolve, and express that resolve in some such way as the following, in thought or speech: "Knowing the terrible evils and sufferings which are brought into the world by war, I hold it my bounden duty to fight strenuously against the things which make for strife whether in the world of Nations, in the State, or in the Home. And I hereby resolve by the help of God to work with all my strength for the establishment of peace among men." . . . We recommend these suggestions to the considerations of all.

BUDDHISTS DECLARE FOR ETERNAL PEACE.

At the Tokyo Peace Exposition the Federation of Buddhists in Japan (representing approximately 70,000 temples and 50,000,000 followers) at a conference recently held in Tokyo, taking cognizance of the abovementioned Christian statement, drew up a responding declaration of like sentiments and ideals.

They issued a declaration that it was their desire to bring about *an eternal peace through the co-operation of all the religions in the world.*—From *The Manchester Guardian.*

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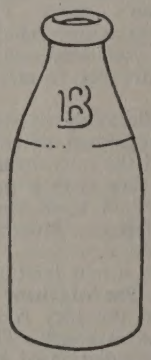

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